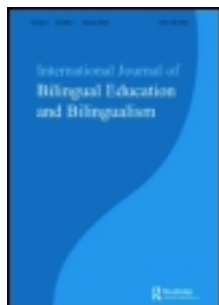


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Is the personal political? Chronotopes and changing stances toward Catalan language and identity

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During the early catalanization of schooling in the Barcelona area in the 1980s, Castilian-speaking teenagers of working-class immigrant descent often struggled against Catalan language and identity. This longitudinal study followed a group of high-school classmates and found that as young adults, some but not all of the resistant working-class Castilian speakers have incorporated Catalan into their lives and identity. This article draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the 'chronotope' or time-space frame to analyze the accounts of language and identity given by informants who adapted positively to Catalan and that of a peer whose hostility to Catalan increased over the years. Drawing on three contrasting chronotopes, informants give different meanings to personal experiences and linguistic practices. Those who adapted positively to Catalan present their linguistic development within biographical and cosmopolitan chronotopes that emphasize individual maturation and experience. They reject the politicization of language and an ideology of authenticity that links language choice to origins. The more anti-Catalan peer presents a socio-historical chronotope that frames his own experience as political and related to national and state debates, and he draws on an ideology of ethnolinguistic solidarity and linguistic authenticity.

Keywords: Catalan; language and identity; bilingualism; chronotope; language ideology; second language acquisition

As Catalan was being phased into schooling in Catalonia during the 1980s, young urban Castilian speakers of working-class immigrant descent often resisted the use of Catalan outside and even inside the classroom and struggled against Catalan identity (Pujolar 2001; Woolard 1997, 2003).¹ This raised concern that despite, or as an unintended consequence of, the new language policies of politically autonomous Catalonia, ethnolinguistic differentiation between Catalan speakers and Castilian speakers might not soften and might even harden along social class lines.

In my earlier work, I expressed just such concerns about patterns of resistance that I found among working-class Castilian-speaking youth in the Barcelona area in 1987 (Woolard 2003). However, in recent longitudinal research on a group with whom I had done a classroom case study in 1987, I found that as these individuals moved beyond high school, some also took up a new stance toward Catalan (Woolard 2011; see also Pujolar i Cos et al. 2010; Pujolar and González, this issue). Of the 36 original informants in a high school case study class, I was able to follow up with one-third 20 years later, when most were 34 years old and launched in their

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own adult work and social lives. Five of those re-interviewed were Castilian speakers from working-class families, who spoke little or no Catalan in high school; this group is the focus of the present report. All five Castilian-speaking re-interviewees have now incorporated Catalan into their lives at some level.² With one important exception that will be a focus of this article, they also now claim a positive orientation toward the place of Catalan in their lives.

No phenomenon found in such a very small sample can be assumed to represent a trend in the larger population, but the late acquisition of Catalan among these informants echoes the results of larger-scale studies reported by Pujolar and Gonzàlez (this issue). What this kind of small longitudinal study best allows us to see is individuals' different and changing construals of their social environment and of their own responses to it. Because social contexts are not simply given but rather must be constructed through interpretive processes, individuals who share background, social location, and many life experiences can nonetheless live in different sociolinguistic worlds, experiencing linguistic tensions and possibilities differently.

This article aims to illustrate such differences in the ways that individuals make sense of the changes that have taken place across time in their relationships with the Catalan language. To capture these differences, I have found it useful to approach my interviewees' accounts of their own sociolinguistic and social development using the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the chronotope.

Bakhtin casts time and space as interconnected in what he calls a chronotope – 'a time-space' – that formally constitutes and distinguishes different genres of literary narratives. For example, Ancient Greek romances 'take place' in a significantly different framework of time and space, with characters ranging across a very different kind of geographical and social landscape, than do nineteenth-century European novels. Chronotope is thus a particular version of the general notion of 'scale' that is now being used in discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology to theorize alternative discursive constructions and representations of social life (see the introduction to this issue for a brief discussion).

Bakhtin's resonant concept of the chronotope has been deployed for a variety of purposes in linguistic anthropology in recent years (see, e.g. Lempert and Perrino 2007). For my purposes, the most important point in Bakhtin's formulation is that distinctive chronotopes determine not just distinct literary genres and what we might think of as their *mise en scène*, but also the different 'images of man' that occur in different genres (Bakhtin 1981, 85). For Bakhtin, different scales of time and locale are linked to different specific forms of personhood (Agha 2007). Even more importantly, Bakhtin demonstrates that those different time-space scales are not just linked to but also actually *enable* different kinds of character *development*.

Transposing the chronotope from literary genres to informants' accounts in interviews, the idea that the chronotope enables or constrains character development is key to the analysis presented here. The accounts that my different interviewees give of the development of an adult ethnolinguistic self can be seen as based, and in a sense contained, within different chronotopic frames that differently enable their character development.³ I will sketch contrastively three distinct chronotopes here, illustrating each with brief extracts from the interviews with four of the informants (two of whom were interviewed together and co-constructed an account).

The four interviewees, Rosario, Josep, and the team of Elena and Adela, were all Castilian-speaking children of immigrant factory and construction workers from Andalusia. They were born into and grew up in the same or similar immigrant-dominated,

working-class neighborhoods of a satellite city in the Barcelona urban area, and they were in the same first-year high school classroom in 1987. All were viewed as 'Castilians' by their high school classmates at the time of the first study, and none had made much of a transition to speaking Catalan. Josep was the most advanced, and at age 14 he claimed to be able to speak Catalan very well, and he actually used it with me in part of his interview. However, he rarely made more than emblematic use of the language in the classroom, and he noted that his classmates considered him Castilian and few spoke to him in Catalan. Elena, Adela, and Rosario had no Catalan friends and spoke Catalan only very infrequently, in the classroom or outside it.

When I re-interviewed them 20 years later, I found that Elena, Adela, and Rosario had become routine Catalan speakers, claiming to use the language regularly and to be comfortable with it. They now identify themselves as Catalan. Josep also now speaks Catalan, but he focuses on the fact that he is not comfortable speaking in Catalan and must always translate from Castilian as he speaks. As Ex. 1 shows, he does not consider the language to be his.

Ex. 1 Josep

Yo no considero el catalán una lengua propia mía. [...] No la considero una lengua propia. La considero una lengua del lugar pero yo no- ni llo [en catalán].⁴

I don't consider Catalan a language of my own... I don't think of it as my own language. I think of it as a language of the place but I don't – I don't even cry [in Catalan].

In contrast to the first three informants, who see themselves as Catalan, throughout his interview Josep casts himself as part of a Castilian and sometimes Andalusian 'us' that he contrasts to a Catalan 'them.' A caveat is in order about the suggestion of gender differentiation that readers may note here. The fifth formerly monolingual Castilian speaker re-interviewed was a male but has an attitude toward Catalan more like that of the three female informants. He is not discussed in detail here because in talking about his change in language habits, he draws on a chronotopic frame similar to that used by Elena and Adela, and cases are presented here only to illustrate distinctive chronotopes. There is no direct correlation of gender with Catalan acquisition or orientation in this small sample of L1 Castilian speakers. (See Woolard 1997 for subtler ways in which gender was related to Catalan language and identity in the high school study.)

Ethnolinguistic identity in three chronotopes

In their interviews, these informants drew on three distinct chronotopic frames to talk about their personal and linguistic lives, which I will call the *biographical chronotope*, the *socio-historical chronotope*, and, directly quoting Bakhtin, the chronotope of *adventure time in everyday life*.⁵ Two facets of these chronotopes are of special interest. Firstly, they differently enable sociological and politicized versus psychological and apolitical readings of personal experience. Secondly, they enable different roles for the interviewees as protagonists of their own stories, and different possibilities for the development of their own character. Bakhtin's template allows us to see how informants' accounts give different meanings to personal experiences, charter different views of their own potential for personal transformation and action

in the worlds they live in, and motivate different stances toward bilingualism in Catalan. We will see that these informants' representations of the possibility of their own social and linguistic growth are grounded in different representations of the nature of the world they move in.

Biographical time

Elena and Adela co-constructed the story of their linguistic evolution in a personal, biographical time-space that cast linguistic growth as a matter of individual psychosocial development. 'I've surely changed a lot!' exclaimed Elena. These late-blooming Catalan speakers are 'super-proud,' in Adela's term, to claim competence in the language now, but they interpret their own linguistic growth in apolitical terms of individual maturation. They reject the politicization of language, insisting that bilingualism is an individual choice they made to enlarge their personal world, and they do not tie their choices to changing language policies. They present themselves as growing and changing, gaining perspective and consciousness, unfolding and opening, as individuals. In their telling, their bilingualism and bi-ethnic identity are emblems of their maturity.

These interviewees represent this psychosocial development as occurring in a relatively unchanging time and place, and as relatively unaffected by politics, despite the considerable social and policy changes in Catalonia in their lifetimes. In their accounts, a kind of universal human nature that evolves from childhood to adulthood, not cultural traits or politico-historical forces, is the prime motivational force of language behavior – theirs and others'. Insistence on monolingualism, in contrast, would represent a kind of arrested development.

For example, when I tried to elicit Elena and Adela's views of changes in the linguistic context of Catalonia – is it better or worse now than 20 years ago? I asked – Elena answered explicitly in biographical rather than social terms, contrasting her self-consciousness as a child to her adult invulnerability:

Ex. 2 Elena

E: Yo lo veo mejor ahora pero lo veo mejor desde mi mi edad.

[. . .]

E: Desde mi vida exacto (.) no le no: (.) a mí ahora no no me importa que me digan o no me afecta que me digan nada (.) y en aquel entonces pues sí.

KW: Sí.

E: Porque eres más joven eres más vulnerable. Te afecta que digas por ejemplo: eh *la tassa* con un tono o con otro (.) si lleva una ese o no lleva.

E: I see it as better now but I see it as better from my my age.

[. . .]

E: From my life, exactly. (.) Not no:t (.) To me now it's not not important to me whether they say something to me or it doesn't matter to me if they say something (.) and back them, well yes [it did].

KW: Yes.

E: Because you're younger and you're more vulnerable. It matters to you that you say, for example, uh *la tassa* with one tone or another (.) whether it has or doesn't have one 's'.

Adela similarly insisted on an individual, psychological view, rejecting my attempt at an institutional explanation of her former husband's rejection of Catalan in high school:

Ex. 3 Adela

A: *A escola rebutjava el català perquè: emm se sentia com se sentia com imposat.*

KW: *Aha sí sí.*

A: *i el rebutjava. Però després és lo que diem que canvies el xip t'obres la ment i i no tenia cap problema en parlar el català.*

KW: *ahh.*

A: *A més se sentia molt català i: súper orgu- orgullós de ser català i de parlar-lo.*

KW: *O sigui que l'escola a vegades provoca els problemes diguéssim, bueno*

A: *No, estava parlant del Manuel, que a escola rebutjava el català. Ell tenia problemes. A EGB no, a l'institut. Però després va canviar. És lo que diem que quan se t'obre la ment doncs ell no tenia cap problema en parlar el català.*

A: At school he rejected Catalan because:se um he felt he felt like imposed on.

KW: Aha, yes yes.

A: and he rejected it. But later it's what we were saying, that you change the chip, you open your mind and and he had no problem speaking Catalan.⁶

KW: ahh.

A: And what's more he felt very Catalan and super proud- proud to be Catalan and to speak it.

KW: So sometimes the school creates the problems, let's say, well,

A: No, I was talking about Manuel, that at school he rejected Catalan. He had problems. Not in primary school, in high school. But after that he changed. It's what we said, that when your mind opens, then he had no problem about speaking Catalan.

Elena elaborates the apparently universal developmental model that accounts for their own linguistic growth in an environment that has not changed in important ways, and Adela chimes in to confirm her view:

Ex. 4 Elena & Adela

E: De todas maneras yo creo que con la edad se relativiza bastante.

A: Sí.

E: Es que es más el núcleo de gente de gente de entre los quince: y los veinte:: que es (.) eres como más revolucionario eres como que te crees que vas a cambiar algo, no es que no entiendo. En esas edades sí sé que se ve más la diferencia. Pero yo creo que una vez pasas ya la barrera de los veinticinco, veintiséis, todo es mucho más relativo, lo ves diferente [(xxx)].

A: [(xx)] los prejuicios se acaban y ya miras

E: Sí.

A: las cosas realmente importantes en la vida.

E: anyway I think that with age it's pretty much relativized.

A: Yes.

E: It's that, it's more that core of people people between fifteen and twenty:: that is (.) you're more like revolutionary you're like you think that you're going to change something, it's not that I don't understand. At those ages yes, I know that you notice differences more. But I think that once you're past the barrier of 25, 26, everything is much more relative, you see it differently [(xxx)].

A: [(xx)] your prejudices disappear and you look at

E: Yes.

A: the things that really matter in life.

Elena and Adela thus offer a narrative of themselves as individuals developing in biographical time, relatively unaffected by a political landscape, in which in any case they do not register changes that significantly affect them.

Socio-historical time

In contrast to Elena and Adela's biographical narrative scale, Josep, who has become more anti-Catalan, frames his personal experience in a socio-historical chronotope. He places himself in a political and sociological world rather than in a psychological stage of development, and in his presentation, his own ethnolinguistic life is related to Catalan national and Spanish state-level developments. Josep draws on a chronotope in which there is a socio-historical change in the Catalan context, but he himself is a relatively unchanging protagonist living in this changing time-place. He is constrained but not formed by his social environment, and presents himself as rooted in what Bakhtin calls ancestral time, drawing his character from his family background, not from the horizontal community of his contemporary surroundings, with which he is at odds. Josep is acutely aware of his changing socio-historical environment, which he perceives as degenerating in response to parochial Catalan traditionalism on the one hand and globalizing chaos personified in immigration on the other. To be fully realized as the protagonist of the complete life that he believes he is capable of, Josep contemplates moving to a more hospitable setting in Spain.

As we saw, when I asked Elena and Adela about the social context, they insisted on answering in terms of individual psychology. In direct contrast, when I asked

Josep questions about his personal development and his own linguistic biography, he often responded with socio-historical and political generalizations, as in Ex. 5:

Ex. 5 Josep

KW: Pues me interesaba eso, a ver eh: que-dónde has ido desde entonces

J: Sí. Ha-ha-ha habido una serie de problemas, bueno problemas no, cambios políticos importantes. Cuando yo:: eh: estudiaba en mi instituto, P.V., digamos que la mayoría de las clases se daban en castellano, pocas-pocas clases se daban en-en catalán, estaba todavía introduciéndose. Había un porcentaje elevado de clases, que eran en castellano y el catalán digamos que todavía se estaba introduciendo. Eh:: sucede que esto ha cambiado totalmente, con *la llei de normalització lingüística*

KW: Well I was interested in that, let's see uh: what-where you (sing.) have gone since then.

J: Yes. There has-has-has been a series of problems, well, not problems, important political changes. When I:: uh: was studying in high school, let's say the majority of the classes were in Castilian, few-few classes were given in Catalan, it was still being introduced. There was a high percentage of classes that were in Castilian and let's say Catalan was still being introduced. Uh:: so it happens that this changed completely, with the *Law of Linguistic Normalization*.

In a related example, Josep turned the exercise of pointing out different relatives in a family photo into a general social commentary:

Ex. 6 Josep

Esta es mi familia [...] Han cambiado, eh? [...] Es que aquí: bueno, como tú bien sabes ha:y: una división bastante [...] Aquí: estamos la mitad castellanoparlantes: y: catalanoparlantes:. En la zona del cinturón rojo que le llaman, cinturón industrial de Barcelona, eh: por qué le llaman cinturón rojo? porque ahí-siempre-ganan- lo:s: socialistas

This is my family [...] They've changed, eh? It's that here: well, as you well know, there is a division rather [...] He:re we're half Castilian speakers a:nd Catalan speakers. In the zone of the red belt, as they call it, the industrial belt of Barcelona, eh: why do they call it the red belt? Because there the Socialists always win

Josep combines a sociological consciousness of class differences and historical change with categorical thinking about cultural contrasts between Catalans and Castilians (Ex. 7), as well as between the Iberian-born population and new immigrants (Ex. 8).

Ex. 7 Josep

Si en Cataluña hay seis millones de personas y tres son castellanoparlantes y tres son catalanoparlantes, la gran diferencia es que los castellanoparlantes n::o tienen la formación académica que tienen los catalanoparlantes, no tienen la conciencia política, ni la conciencia de nación que tienen los catalanoparlantes. La mayoría de puestos en los cuales eh: se trabaja con las manos y no se reflexiona mucho sobre ideología política, corresponde a los castellanoparlantes, gente de Andalucía, de Extremadura, de Murcia y demás. En cambio los catalanoparlantes, siempre, de: porque es su idiosincrasia, su forma de ser, el *tarranà* que dicen ellos eh:: es de estudiar y de tener las ideas muy claras.

If in Catalonia there are six million people and three are Castilian speakers and three are Catalan speakers, the great difference is that the Castilian speakers do not have the academic foundation that the Catalan speakers have, they don't have the political consciousness, nor the national consciousness that Catalan speakers have. The majority of positions in which uh: one works with one's hands and doesn't reflect much on political ideology go to the Castilian speakers, people from Andalusia, from Extremadura, from Murcia and so forth. In contrast the Catalan speakers always, because of their idiosyncrasy, their way of being, their *way* as they say, is to study and to have very clear ideas.

Ex. 8 Josep

J: Luego: hace: seis años, si tu- no sé si has estado por aquí, pero desde hace seis años, e: ha habido un boom inmigratorio importantísimo

KW: De: fuera, no?

J: Pero muy importante, y ahora empezamos a tener los primeros problemas serios.

J: So, six years ago, if you- I don't know whether you were here, but since about six years ago, there's been an important explosion of immigration

KW: from outside, no?

J: But very important, and now we're starting to have serious problems.

Despite his sociological and historical analysis of a changing context, Josep sees himself as set apart, a unique individual, distinguished from others with similar backgrounds:

Ex. 9 Josep

Ya es un poco el 'self-made man,' que dicen los americanos, no?

It's a little bit the 'self-made man', as the Americans say, right?

Josep sees himself as unchanging in his basic character and attitudes and always abnormal for his social milieu. He presents himself as having been politically conservative his whole life, despite his working-class background (and the incomprehension of this interviewer, who missed Josep's desire not to be viewed as normal).

Ex. 10 Josep

J: Yo soy conservador y de derechas . . . yo, el concepto de España, como unidad de nación, el cast- es-es-es que lo siento, a mí me sale. Yo-yo-yo de pequeño, de bien pequeñín, yo cogía el libro::, el atlas de historia, y:: miraba el imperio español, con orgullo.

KW: Sí.

J: Tú crees que esto es normal?

KW: Sí, perfecto.

J: Pero yo es que:: Yo nunca me han dicho que si España, que nunca ha habido una foto de Franco en mi casa. Jamás [. . .] O sea nada. [. . .] me-me ha venido solo.

J: I'm conservative and from the right...for me, the concept of Spain, as a unified nation, the Cast- it's it's it's what I feel, what comes from me. I-I-I, when I was little, really little, I picked up a book, a historical atlas and:: I looked at the Spanish empire with pride.

KW: Yes.

J: Do you think that's normal?

KW: Yes, perfectly.

J: But it's that I:: Me, they never told me that Spain is this, there was never a photo of Franco in my house. Never [...] I mean nothing. [...] it came to m-me on my own.

In contrast to Elena and Adela's pride in having become Catalan-speaking Catalans, Josep claims here an unchanged pride, from his earliest age, in being part of the legacy of the Spanish empire. His story is of the stable essence of an already-completed character who does not 'become' as he experiences historical time. Very much as in the chronotope Bakhtin identified in Roman-Hellenistic autobiography, historical reality in Josep's telling is an important arena for disclosing individual character, but not for determining it (Bakhtin 1981, 140–1).

Adventure time of everyday life

Rosario is similar to Elena and Adela in her current stance toward Catalan language and identity. In an earlier analysis (Woolard 2011), I presented her account of her linguistic transformation as similar to Elena and Adela's, which it is in that she emphasized shedding the sense of shame that hampered her second language acquisition when young. However, from a Bakhtinian perspective, the story she tells of her transformation mainly features a different chronotope, and correspondingly she paints a different picture of the possibilities of protagonism in her own life. Like Josep, Rosario sets herself within large cultural patterns, but these are contrasting social spaces relatively unchanging in time. Where Josep gives socio-historical analysis, Rosario gives (an old-fashioned) cultural analysis, cast in the chronotope of the timeless ethnographic present. As in that traditional cultural trope, different places exist in different times, modern versus archaic, for Rosario.

Of the three presented here, Rosario's favored chronotope most strikingly resembles one that Bakhtin described. Hers is the 'adventure time of everyday life' of ancient Roman literature, in many of its ramifications. Bakhtin tells us that this kind of adventure occurs not only across abstract seas and continents, but also through social hierarchies, and such social adventure leaves its mark on the character. Time in this chronotope is a matter of biographical crisis, threshold moments, and sudden changes that leave their trace in the further life of the individual. The course of an individual's life is characterized as actual progress through space, 'the path of his life.' Although moving through the time of everyday life, the individual is still private and isolated, not localized in historical time (Bakhtin 1981, 120).

Rosario, who left Barcelona and lived in London for seven years, tells of a road through different landscapes, physical as well as social. Her path enables not so much the kind of maturation that Elena and Adela claim, but a personal metamorphosis, as Bakhtin would predict from the chronotope, one that 'unfolds not so much in a straight line as spasmodically, a line with "knots" in it' (Bakhtin 1981, 113). In

adventure time in everyday life, the hero shows initiative, experiences guilt, and can be punished and redeemed. Bakhtin tells us that change in this chronotope comes in personal crises and rites of passage; liminality is important, separating different stages of identity.

Rosario indeed narrates her personal initiative in leaving Barcelona and a partial redemption through her rise in her occupation as well as her consciousness, but she particularly emphasizes her ongoing experience of liminality as a returnee. Rosario speaks as a cosmopolitan who knows how to make her way around different landscapes. She believes that she has developed – that is, transformed into a fuller being – through exposure to different places, but she also feels that now in her mid-thirties, it is close to ‘too late’ for her to actualize her cross-culturally discovered potential. Her new cosmopolitan self is both out of place and out of time, out of sync with her chronological age and her current Spanish social context.

For example, in several passages, Rosario interprets her personal work experience, and her dissatisfaction with her recent situation in Barcelona, in terms of Spanish vs. other European cultural patterns:

Ex. 11 Rosario

R: todo todo el resto de Europa que se lleva desde Amsterdam. Ahí sí me gustan. Me gustaría trabajar para ellos. Es- (.) la manera de llevar el negocio es diferente (.) es a la europea (.) pero aquí a la española:

KW: (cuales) son las diferencias dirías? [...]

R: son más profesionales me parece (.) en este mundo eh? (.) en el ámbito de de la moda (.) que es lo que yo me muev- [...] son más profesionales (.) más (.) objetivos. Aquí es más de: de a lo mejor la directora que me llevaba a mí era la hija de-

R: all the rest of [of the stores in] Europe that [her employer] runs from Amsterdam. Yes, there I like it. I would like to work for them. It's- the way of doing business is different, it's European style, but here it's in the Spanish style:

KW: What would you say are the differences? [...]

R: They're more professional I think, in this world, eh? In the area of fashion, which is the one in which I move- [...] They're more professional, more objective. Here it's more, it may well be that my boss was the daughter of-

Similarly, in talking about childrearing, Rosario contrasts a Spanish cultural pattern she views negatively with a positive Danish pattern:

Ex. 12 Rosario

En plan educación. La educación para ella me gustaría más que creciera allí que aquí. [...] aquí se les da todo a los niños es um es um. [...] Son muy: muy consumistas aquí. [...] Yo me iría a Dinamarca. [...] claro (.) me gu- me gusta cómo cómo crecen allí los niños con (.) siempre tienen naturaleza cerca

In educational matters. Education for her [R's daughter], I'd like it better if she grew up there than here. [...] Here they give children everything it's um, it's um [...] They're very: very into consumption here. [...] I would go to Denmark. [...] Sure. I li-I like how how children grow up there with (.) they always have nature nearby

Her path across these cultural landscapes, which are very stable in themselves, is what enabled Rosario to grow, personally and linguistically:

Ex. 13 Rosario

Yo es que también, yo he cambiado mucho ((laughs)). Es que bueno. Primero que era muy tonta de joven, creo. Y luego (.) es que una vez que viajas te das cuenta de- es que, qué más d- y qué más da de dónde seas. Es que da igual! Realmente da igual. Yo ahora soy más feliz y tengo amigos de todos sitios de (.) Tsk. Y (.) y ves que es es im- es importante aprender las lenguas pero no es tan importante hablarlas perfecto

It's also that, I've changed a lot ((laughs)). It's, well. First, I was very foolish when I was young, I think. And then (.) it's like once you travel and you realize that- it's like who care- who cares where you're from! It doesn't matter! It really doesn't matter. Me, now I'm happier and I have friends from all over from (.) Tsk. And (.) and you see that it's im- it's important to learn languages but it's not so important to speak them perfectly.

This metamorphosis enables Rosario, unlike Josep, to feel quite comfortable with the question of Catalan and Castilian in Catalonia. From her now more global perspective, Rosario says she is no longer ashamed to attempt to speak in Catalan or afraid of making the kind of linguistic mistakes for which she felt bullied as a child. But her metamorphosis also ultimately leaves her feeling out of place everywhere, a deracinated cosmopolitan who can't go home again:

Ex. 14 Rosario

Yo si quieres que te diga la verdad yo siempre (.) he estado bastante perdida (.) mm (.) nunca he sabido qué exactamente (.) me (xx) (.) algo que siento un poco así [...] no sé un poco dónde está mi lugar ahora.

If you want to know the truth I have always been a little lost. Mmm. I've never know exactly what (xx) something that I feel I little like [...] I don't know, sort of, where my place is now.

To be sure, Rosario does not see the Spanish context as completely unchanging, as Ex. 15 shows; as Bakhtin suggested, a dominant chronotopic frame can incorporate disparate chronotopes in dialog with it (Bakhtin 1981, 252). However, discussing the need she and her husband see for change in the Spanish workday, Rosario characterizes such change as necessitating a complete social metamorphosis.

Ex. 15 Rosario

R: siempre nos quejábamos y de repente de un año y medio para acá (.) se se empiezan a ver siempre hay artículos somos los que más trabajamos y los que menos rendimos... ehh de toda Europa (.) o: (.) los esto españoles trabajamos (.) más y y somos menos eficaces emm (.) muchos artículos de estos. los veo además a menudo. [...] Pero antes no (.) [antes nadie se cuestionaba

[...]

R: yo creo que pasará pero yo creo que aún se tardará otros [otros veinte años].

KW: [que cuesta eh] (.) ah sí? Tu [crees?]

R: [yo creo] que sí (.) hay empresas que ya son así (.) sí porque (.) hay que cambiar todo hay que cambiar el colegio de los niños y los trabajos (.) todo (.)

R: We always complained and suddenly about a year and a half ago you started to see [news] articles that we're the ones who work the most and have the lowest productivity uh of all Europe. Or we Spaniards work more and are less efficient um. Many of those articles. And you see them frequently...] But before, no, nobody questioned it.

[...]

R: And I think that it will change but I think it will take another another twenty years.

KW: It takes a lot, huh? (.) Oh, yes? You think so?

R: I think so. There are companies that are like that. Yes, because you have to change everything, you have to change the children's schools and the workplace and everything

Essentially, in Rosario's cultural account, Spain will have to become another country, another time-space, in order to change the prevailing work schedule.

Discussion and conclusion

These informants frame their accounts of linguistic and personal development in three fundamentally different chronotopes, which charter different visions of personal as opposed to social responsibility for their current linguistic situations and selves. Elena and Adela present themselves as successfully evolving individuals in a relatively unchanging social world, Rosario is a changed creature moving across and out of kilter with contrasting worlds, and Josep is an unchanging, steadfast protagonist in a deteriorating world.

I have presented here an analysis of discourse patterns and narrative strategies, not inner motivational forces; I cannot advance claims about psychological causes of individuals' behavior. It is perhaps not surprising that those who present themselves as happiest with their situation tell their story in a way that emphasizes their own individual accomplishments, while those who are less satisfied express unhappiness with their circumstances, not simply themselves.⁷ What is most important for the theme of this special issue is that these chronotopically different accounts provide narrative ground that legitimates different stances toward bilingualism and specifically toward the acquisition and use of Catalan.

The development of their linguistic repertoires and identities to encompass Catalan is a point of pride for Elena and Adela. They take it as a sign of the maturity and openness they have achieved since I last saw them twenty years before, and they are critical of any politicization of such personal pride.

Rosario's narrative of a personal metamorphosis induced by adventures in European landscapes also frames a positive stance toward Catalan. However, where Adela and Elena report their acquisition of Catalan with pride, Rosario has assumed the Catalan language and identity more with a shrug. Her perspective on the language is that of a cosmopolitan. Not only does she range across a broader geographical and social landscape, she relativizes the meaning of Catalan and Castilian ethnolinguistic identities to that broader scale, which reduces the (formerly unbearable) significance of Catalan for her. As she acquired global English in an international social milieu, the tension between Catalan and Castilian diminished for Rosario. Looked at on the scale of northern European modernity and southern archaism, the social categories of Catalan, Castilian, and Spaniard are not

distinctive. All stand together for Rosario as Latin southerners in contrast to northern Europeans, the more important cultural divide.

Rosario's description of cultural differences tends toward the timeless; like Elena and Adela's, hers is neither a political nor a historical account. Rosario's own felt predicament comes not from political events but from the clash of Bakhtin's 'everyday time' (quite literally, in the workday) in the northern and southern European landscapes she has inhabited.

In contrast, Josep's relationship to Catalan is mediated by a strong sense of the historical, the political, and the sociological. He draws on cultural stereotypes as does Rosario, but he sets these within a changing political landscape. In his representation, Josep himself has not changed, but the world he lives in has, for the worse. Josep's predicament as a self-identified Spaniard in Catalonia, attached to his native Castilian language, is not simply personal. For Josep, the solution is not to reconcile his relationship to language and identity in his context, as his classmates Elena and Adela did, but rather to take a political stance against changes in his environment that he views as unjust.⁸ Josep imagines relief only in moving to another landscape where his biographical roots would fit with the roots of the contemporary community.

Different ideologies of the authority of language accompany these different chronotopic frames and stances toward Catalan. For Josep, the authority and legitimacy of a language is based primarily in the ideology of authenticity that is traditional to ethno-nationalist discourse (Woolard 2008, see also the introduction to this issue). An 'authentic' language is one that is seen to correspond to the true nature of the self; origins and roots define that true nature. Josep rejects Catalan's power over him as an illegitimate imposition because it is not 'his' language. Catalan feels foreign to him; he does not cry in it, as he says. To insist that he speak Catalan is to hamper his freedom to express himself authentically. On the surface it may seem paradoxical, given Josep's acute awareness of socio-historical change, that he draws on a traditional linguistic ideology. However, within his account of social history, the significant actors are ethnolinguistic groups with fixed identities. The traditional ideology of authenticity is coherent with his interpretation of the historical and political drama of Catalonia as a conflict between ethnolinguistic groups.

In contrast, the three interviewees discussed here who embrace identities as speakers of Catalan, whether within a biographical or a cosmopolitan chronotope, do not represent language choice within the traditional rhetoric of authenticity. They depict themselves as having shed concerns about linguistic authenticity – 'who cares!', as Rosario exclaims. Elena, Adela, and Rosario all break the tie of linguistic origins to identity that Josep invokes. Instead, they mobilize a rhetoric that is newer in the Catalan setting, one resonant with the ideological complex of 'anonymity' that casts a language as owned by no one in particular and thus available to all with the will to take it up (Gal and Woolard 2001; Woolard 2008). As in the findings of Pujolar and González (this issue) and Soler (this issue), these informants take not a social or politicized stance toward language choice but rather a non-traditionalist, personalistic one. We might see this stance as consonant with the late modern and neo-liberal entrepreneurial project of cultivating the self (Giddens 1999; see brief discussion in the introduction to this issue).⁹ The irony, of course, is that this experience of personal linguistic flexibility ultimately stems from decades of Catalan linguistic policy. Nonetheless, for these informants, unlike Josep, the use of the Catalan language is now and should be about possibilities and becoming, not about

origins; about adult rationality, not youthful emotional vulnerability; and about communication among individuals, not group identity or political divisions.

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Notes

1. Throughout this article, the terms 'Castilian speaker' and 'Catalan speaker' will generally be used to identify social categories and are not intended to suggest monolingualism. A 'Castilian speaker' is from a home where Castilian is the primary language spoken, and is likely to be Castilian-dominant in language habits. There is no implication that a 'Castilian speaker' will be monolingual and not speak Catalan, or vice versa. When I wish to stress the native language of an individual, I will use the terms 'first language' or 'L1' Castilian or Catalan speaker.
2. The response rate was higher among native Castilian speakers than for the full group, with responses from three of the six who had acquired Catalan by high school, and five of the seven I had classed as functionally monolingual in Castilian. This last is a very high rate for a long-term follow-up study, but there still could be self-selection bias in the response. All informant names are pseudonyms.
3. These accounts were developed in interaction and thus co-constructed with the interviewer. However, limited space here allows only abbreviated extracts that are not adequate for the close interactional analysis needed to display the mechanisms of co-construction. All interviews were carried out by the author.
4. Transcription conventions: Normal font = Castilian; *italics* = Catalan; [words] = overlap; [...] = material omitted; (()) = transcriber's comment; : = elongation; - = word breaks off; (.) = pause; (xx) = unintelligible. In the English gloss, words added to clarify the meaning that have no correspondents in the original are bracketed []. Informants' first initials are used to identify their turns; 'KW' refers to the interviewer.
5. Only the chronotopes used by the sub-sample of formerly monolingual Castilian speakers have been analyzed in detail. The fifth such informant, a male, drew on a chronotope similar to that used by Elena and Adela, that is that of biographical time, and so he is not discussed separately here.
6. 'Changing the chip' is a popular technological metaphor for what Pujolar and González (this issue) call a 'muda.'
7. This patterning of personal vs. generalizing accounts is reminiscent of that found by Reichman (2011) in relation to Honduran migrants' decisions to emigrate. Those who left gave socially generalizing accounts of their actions, while those who remained behind gave gossip personalistic interpretations of their neighbors' decisions.
8. Elena also asserts that some Catalan linguistic policies could be viewed as unjust, but distinguishes her personal situation – 'it's not unjust for me, I'm not affected' – from that of a hypothetical Spaniard wishing to move to Catalonia for a job.
9. This interpretation is complicated by the fact that while Elena and Adela may seem to draw on a neo-liberal model of the freely choosing self, it is Josep who casts himself as an enterprising individual aligned with neo-liberal politics and economics.

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